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POLITICS

AND THE

SCHOOL QUESTION.



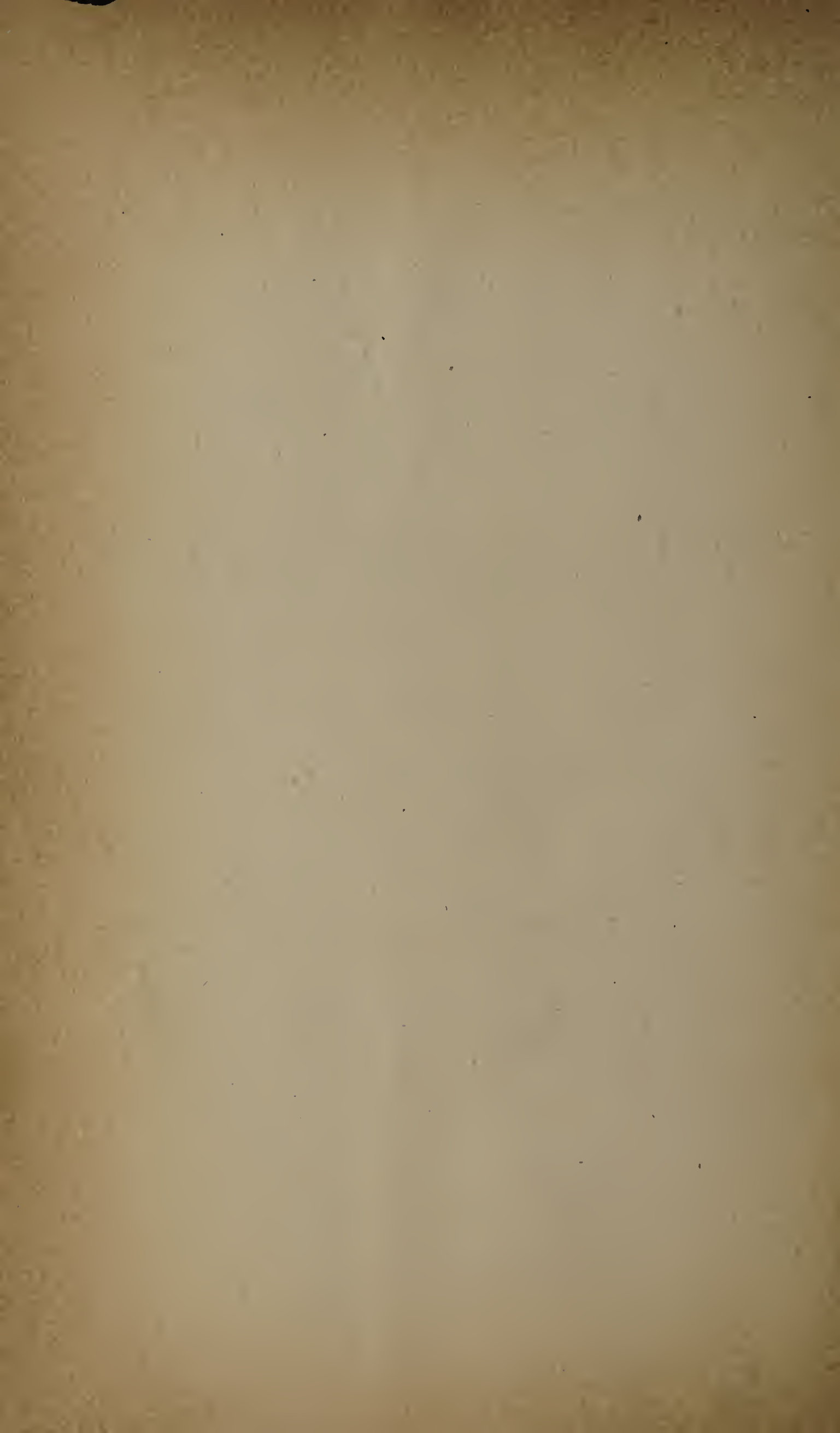
ATTITUDE

OF THE

Republican and Democratic Parties,

IN

1876.



# POLITICS AND THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

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## Attitude of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

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“Our Common Schools are in danger; we call upon you to rally in their defense.”—*Union League of America.*

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## THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

THE position of the two great political parties on the public school question is clearly and unmistakably defined. As soon as the question assumed a serious aspect, the Republican party “advanced to the front,” and, without hesitation, became the champion of the public schools, boldly meeting the question officially in her State and National Conventions. A few illustrations will suffice to show the attitude of the Republican party on this question.

### THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS SUSTAINED BY REPUBLICAN STATESMEN.

PRESIDENT GRANT, in his speech to the army of the Tennessee, said:

“The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us as a free nation. \* \* \* \* Let us encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian schools.”

In harmony with these views, the President, in his Message to Congress, recommended:

“That a constitutional amendment be submitted to the Legislatures of the several States for ratification, making it the duty of each of the several States to establish and forever maintain free public schools adequate to the education of all the children in the rudimentary branches, within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birth-place, or religion, forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets, and prohibiting the granting of any school-funds or school-taxes, or any part thereof, either by legislative, municipal, or other authority, for the benefit or in aid, directly or indirectly, of any religious sect or denomination, or in aid or for the benefit of any other object of any nature or kind whatever.”

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE, in a letter, dated October 20, 1875, to a gentleman in Ohio, writes:

"It seems to me that this (school) question ought to be settled in some definite and comprehensive way, and the only settlement that can be final is the complete victory for non-sectarian schools. I am sure this will be demanded by the American people at all hazards and at any cost."

In order to secure this settlement, Mr. Blaine submitted to Congress his proposed constitutional (school) amendment.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL TAFT, the late Secretary of War, in a speech at Cleveland, Ohio, during the late campaign in that State, thus alluded to the aggressive movements of the Roman Catholics:

"The Catholic clergy are attempting an impossibility. They have faith in the divinity of their church; but they will have to learn in America that there is a divinity in the Republic as impregnable and more potent than that which any church organization can bring against it. \* \* \* \* \* In my judgment, all attempts to secure the division of the school fund, or the introduction of religious teaching into the schools, in the interest of any church, are vain and injurious, and ought to be abandoned."

At the HAYES and WHEELER ratification meeting, at Washington City, June 19, 1876, Judge TAFT again alluded to the school question in the following terms:

"Popular education is the hope of the Republic. I trust that the time is not far distant when all the people will acquiesce in sustaining the common schools, and when they who would ask a division of the school fund will yield to the genius of Republicanism, and be satisfied to give religious instruction and enjoy religious worship in the family and in the church, while the State, with a sovereign impartiality, shall perform its great duty of making education universal through the best system of common schools the world ever saw."

EX-GOVERNOR NOYES, of Ohio, after participating in the campaign in Ohio, which resulted in the election of Governor Hayes, made an address in the Academy of Music, in Brooklyn, Oct. 30, 1875, in which he strongly protested against the Roman Catholic crusade against our schools. In the course of his remarks on this subject he said:

"I recognize the right of the Roman Catholics to carry on their church government the same as any other, as long as they confine themselves to the spiritual domain, but when they step out of that and undertake to dictate the laws of this land, and interfere with their enforcement, then we say, you are trespassers from your domain, and you must retire to your place."

"To-day the Catholics number one to six in our population. They are a great political power, and unless we stop their interference with our schools at the very threshold, then is the future of these schools in danger."

GENERAL R. B. HAYES said, in the Ohio campaign, in the same year:

"Our motto is honest money for all, *and free schools for all*. There should be no inflation which will destroy the one, and no sectarian influence which will destroy the other."



In a speech delivered at Marion, Lawrence Co., Ohio, July 31, 1875,

GENERAL HAYES said:

“Every body knows that the sectarian wing of the Democratic party begun this agitation, and that it is bent on the destruction of our free schools. \* \* \* No Democratic speaker denounces those who began the agitation. All their epithets are levelled at the men who are on the right side of the question. \* \* \* The sectarian agitation against the schools was begun many years ago. During the last few years it has steadily and rapidly increased, and has been encouraged by various indications of possible success. Its triumphs are mainly in large towns and cities. It has already divided the schools, and in a considerable degree impaired and limited their usefulness. The glory of the American system of education has been that it was so cheap that the humblest citizen could afford to give his children its advantages, and so good, that the man of wealth could nowhere provide for his children any thing better.”

## ACTION OF REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTIONS.

### PENNSYLVANIA.

From the platform adopted at Harrisburg, March 29, 1876 :

“*Resolved*, That the common safety demands that our public schools shall not only be free to all, but shall be preserved from all special or partial control. All attempts to divide the school fund for any purpose whatever, or to divert any portion of it into a channel not under popular control, is to be frowned upon and resisted with unyielding firmness. The recent defeat in the Democratic Legislature of Maryland of a constitutional amendment to secure the common school fund of that State against division reveals at once a grave danger, and its source, and with other like facts makes plain the duty of Congress to submit such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as, when adopted, will effectually defend the common school system from all enemies, open or covert.”

### VERMONT.

From the platform adopted at Burlington, March 29, 1876 :

“*Third*: The safety of the Republic depends upon the intelligence as well as the virtue of its citizens, and it is essential that the public school system shall be maintained, in order that every child may receive such education as will fit him for useful citizenship, and we are unalterably opposed to any diversion of public money for any purpose whatever.”

### OHIO.

From the platform adopted at Columbus, March 29, 1876 :

“*Seventh*: We stand by our system of free common schools, supported by general taxation. There must be no division of the school fund, and no sectarian interference with the schools.”

### IOWA.

The platform adopted at Des Moines, May 31, 1876, “supports free education and the public school system, and no division of the school fund.”

### CONNECTICUT.

From the platform of the late State Convention :

“We speak for the encouragement and support of education. The safety of the Republic depends upon the intelligence as well as the virtue of its citizens, in order that

the unity of the nation, preserved at the cost of war, may be maintained in peace. It is essential that the State schools shall continue to be common schools, where every child in the State may receive such education as will fit him to be useful in the community, happy in his home, and absolutely removed from that ignorance which is the mother of crime; and we are unalterably opposed to any diversion of the public school money for any purpose whatever."

NEW YORK.

The Republican Convention at Saratoga, September 8, 1875, adopted the following:

"The free public school is the bulwark of the American Republic. We, therefore, demand the unqualified maintenance of the public school system and its support by equal taxation. We are opposed to all sectarian appropriations, and we denounce as a crime against liberty and Republican institutions any project for a sectarian division or perversion of the school fund of the State."

In the call for a State Convention to assemble at Syracuse, March 22, 1876, for the purpose of electing delegates to the National (Cincinnati) Convention, and signed by ALONZO B. CORNELL, as Chairman of the State Committee, those are invited to participate, "who hold that the common school system is the nursery of American Liberty, and should be maintained absolutely free from sectarian control."

The State Convention at Saratoga, Aug. 23, 1876, unanimously adopted the following as one of the resolutions of its platform:

"*Sixth.*—The Democratic party, in its controlling spirit, is false and untrustworthy on every living issue; false in practical government, for its eight months of power in Congress are barren of good fruits; false to equal rights and the new guarantees of the Constitution; false on the currency, for it openly repudiates the resumption pledge; FALSE ON THE QUESTION OF THE SAFETY OF THE SCHOOLS, FOR THE SOLID DEMOCRATIC VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, DEFEATED AN ADEQUATE AMENDMENT TO PROTECT THE SCHOOL SYSTEM FROM SECTARIAN ATTACK."

HON. JOHN M. FRANCIS, on assuming the Presidency of this Convention, said:

"The lines to-day are as sharply drawn as they were in 1861. On the one side we have arranged the loyal and true men of the nation, under a leader who has distinguished himself in the defence of the government, and who periled his life and shed his blood that it might endure. These loyal and true men, and this gallant leader, stand upon a platform that sustains the Union in its integrity, guarantees the public faith, protects the just rights of citizens in all parts of the land, and PROMISES CONSTITUTIONAL SECURITY TO THE COMMON SCHOOLS AGAINST ALL SECTARIAN INTERFERENCE OR ASSAULT."

HON. GEO. W. CURTIS eloquently said:

"Our cause is the cause of freedom in its largest sense. The cause in the old time of free speech and free men is no less now the CAUSE OF FREE SCHOOLS and free voters."

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

The New York Legislature of 1875-76, which had a Republican majority in either house, passed the following proposed amendment to the State Constitution, which is yet to be submitted to a vote of the people:

"SECTION 2. Free common schools shall be maintained throughout the State forever. The Legislature shall provide for the instruction in the branches of elementary education, in such schools, of all persons in the State, between the ages of five and twenty-one years, for the period of at least twenty-eight weeks in each year.

"§ 3. Neither the money, property or credit of the State, nor of any county, city, town, village or school district, shall be given, loaned or leased, or be otherwise applied, to the support or aid of any school of instruction under the control or in charge of any church, sect, denomination, or religious society; nor to or in aid of any school in which instruction is given peculiar to any church, creed, sect, or denomination, or to or in aid of any such instruction; nor to or in aid of any school of instruction not wholly under the control and supervision and in charge of the public school authorities. This section shall not prohibit the Legislature from making such provision for the education of the blind, the deaf and dumb, and juvenile delinquents, as it may deem proper, except in institutions in which instruction is given peculiar to any church, creed, sect or denomination, or religious society. Nor shall it apply to or affect the Cornell University endowment fund hitherto pledged and appropriated."

NEW JERSEY.

From the platform adopted by the New Jersey Republican State Convention, at New Brunswick, Aug. 30, 1876:

"Resolved, That we are inflexibly opposed to any and all attempts, direct or indirect, to impair the efficiency of our free public schools, and we demand that they be scrupulously kept forever free, by the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, from all ecclesiastical or sectarian interference."

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**REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.**

The following resolution was adopted by the late Cincinnati Presidential Convention, June, 1876:

"7. The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any school or institution under sectarian control."

This declaration elicited hearty applause, and a second reading was called for, when it was received amid tumultuous cheers.

General HAYES' letter accepting the nomination as a candidate for President, thus speaks of the above resolution:

"The resolution with respect to the public school system is one which should receive the hearty support of the American people. Agitation upon this subject is to be apprehended, until, by constitutional amendment, the schools are placed beyond all danger of sectarian control or interference. The Republican party is pledged to secure such an amendment."

In harmony with the above, we have the following in Mr. WHEELER'S letter of acceptance:

"In our system of government intelligence must give safety and value to the ballot. Hence the common schools of the land should be preserved in all their vigor, while, in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, they and all their endowments should be secured by every possible and proper guarantee against every form of sectarian influence or control."

## THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

The proposed amendment to the Constitution, as introduced in the House of Representatives by MR. BLAINE, was amended by the House, and passed by a vote of 166 to 5—the five votes being given by Democrats. After its passage it was sent to the Senate for concurrence, where it was found to be radically defective, inasmuch as it simply prohibited a State from diverting a part of the fund set apart for public schools to the support of sectarian schools ; but did not prevent the State from levying a special tax for that purpose, so that under this amendment a State could support sectarian schools to any extent. For this reason the Roman Catholic members and their Democratic friends had no objection to vote for it, and therefore they passed it.

In the Senate it was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and was finally reported in the following amended form :

“*Resolved*, By the Senate and House of Representatives (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as a part of the said Constitution, namely :

“ARTICLE 16. No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any State. No public property and no public revenue of, nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of the United States, or any State Territory, district, or municipal corporation, shall be appropriated to or made or used for the support of any school, educational, or other institutions under the control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or wherein the particular creeds or tenets shall be read or taught in any school or institution supported in whole or in part by such revenue or loan of credit, and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or to promote its interests or tenets.

“This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested.

“SECTION 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to provide for the prevention and punishment of violations of this article.”

This amendment was agreed to by a strict party vote, every Republican voting for it, and every Democrat against it.

When it came up for its third and last reading, it met with a spirited opposition from the Democratic Senators, the leaders of the opposition being the Roman Catholics members, who were sustained by Protestant Democrats. Senator KERNAN, the Roman Catholic Senator from New York,

opened the debate against it, declaring himself in favor of the House amendment. Senator Bogy, another Democratic Roman Catholic, from Missouri, also opposed it, and when the vote was taken on its final passage, it was defeated by a strict party vote, every Democratic, including four Roman Catholics, voting against it. The vote was yeas 28, nays 16. A two-thirds vote being required to pass it, it was lost.

The vote in detail was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Booth, Boutwell, Bunce, Burnside, Cameron (Wis.), Christiancy, Clayton, Conkling, Cragin, Edmunds, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Harvey, Jones (Nev.), Logan, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, Morton, Oglesby, Paddock, Patterson, Sargent, Spencer, Wadleigh, and West—28.

NAYS—Messrs. Bogy, Cockrell, Cooper, Davis, Eaton, Gordon, Jones (Fla.), Kelly, Kernan, Key, McCreary, McDonald, Maxey, Norwood, Randolph, and Stevenson—16.

Messrs. Barnum, Withers, Whyte, Saulsbury, Wallace, Bayard, and Dennis, who would have voted against it, were paired with Messrs. Dawes, Hamilton, Hitchcock, Cameron (Pa.), Robertson, Windom, and Wright, who would have voted for it; and Mr. Ransom, who would have voted against it, was paired with Messrs. Howe and Ingalls, who would have voted for it, he having two of the affirmative side to pair with him to make the pair even where a two-thirds vote was required.

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## THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In their conventions the Democratic party always ignore the school question. They dare not offend their Roman Catholic allies by passing resolutions sustaining the public schools, and it would be equally unwise for them to openly espouse the cause of the Romanists; therefore, as a *party* they are silent on the subject of the schools.

The platform adopted by the late Democratic National Convention, at St. Louis, has only an immaterial reference to the school question. Not a word on the subject was spoken by any of their orators. The Roman Catholic element in that Convention was too large and too powerful to admit the introduction of any subject distasteful to Romanists; but there was an evident desire in all the proceedings of the Convention to gratify them. A Roman Catholic priest was invited to officiate as chaplain—the New York delegation elected a Roman Catholic (MR. KERNAN) as its chairman, and the same Roman Catholic nominated MR. TILDEN.

In his letter of acceptance, Governor TILDEN makes no allusion to the educational question, thus treating the subject as of no importance.

It requires no argument to prove that the Roman Catholics of the United States are the allies of the Democratic party; but a few facts in this connection may be interesting:

Every emphatic demand for division of public school funds, recognition of parochial schools, or abolition of the system of secular education, has come from adherents of the Democratic party. The New York *Staats Zeitung*, the most widely circulated German Democratic paper in the country, translated and copied a letter pointing out evidences of Democratic hostility to the school system at the West, and strongly enforced the lesson by its editorial comments. The *Staats Zeitung*, of Chicago, and the *Volksblatt*, of Cincinnati, though still supporting the Democratic party, speak very strongly of its tendencies in this respect. The *Westliche Post*, of St. Louis, constantly assails that party on the same grounds:

With remarkable unanimity, the whole Romish press urged the defeat of President GRANT, and the election of his competitor. Romish priests, in the *Catholic Telegraph*, sounded the praises of Mr. GREELEY, declaimed with bitter denunciations against “the four years of misrule” of the Republican administration, and joined with their defense of Jesuitism an exhortation to all their followers to vote with the opposition.

The *Freeman's Journal* (R. C.) of September 11, 1875, in an editorial on the late Ohio election, copies, with approbation, the following from the *N. Y. Commercial Advertiser* :

“Without the Irish Roman Catholic vote in Ohio, in New York, or in any State in the Union, there would not be enough of Democracy left for seed. For fifty years and more Irish Roman Catholics have given victory to Democracy, whenever it has achieved victory. They have been hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Democratic party since the days of Jefferson and the alien and seditious laws.”

The Irish Roman Catholics have always been identified with the Democratic party, and they are now preparing with unusual spirit to take part in the present Presidential contest. Their purpose is open and avowed.

Cardinal McCLOSKEY says : “We *must* take part in elections,” the interest of the Church demands it, for the success of the Republican party would for a long time arrest the progress of Roman Catholic aggression, hence they will move in solid mass in every State against the party pledged to sustain the integrity of the public schools.

The vote in the House of Representatives on BLAINE'S school amendment was an adroit Democratic movement, intended to satisfy the people that the schools were in no danger, and that the Democratic party was friendly to them ; but when the true test came, as it did, in the Senate, where they had an opportunity of so amending the Constitution as to secure the safety of the schools for a long period, the masks were thrown off, exposing the coalition between Catholic and Democratic Senators, and thus acting together, defeated the passage of the amendment. This first national victory over Protestantism and Republicanism has filled every Roman Catholic heart with rejoicing.

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### THE KEY-NOTE OF THE CAMPAIGN SOUNDED.

The *Southern Catholic*, published at Memphis, Tenn., issued the following, which meets a friendly response from the entire Romish press :

“There are two very essential steps to be taken in order to win the next Presidential race. It is scarcely necessary, we trust, to urge our fellow-Catholics to assemble everywhere around the Democratic colors ; for they are all, by choice or necessity external to the Republican party, and it is incredible to believe that any Catholic who has a modicum of self-respect and love for his church can co-operate with that party. If hitherto he has done so, the time is at hand to abandon an organization which is confessedly, and without longer disguise, at war with our holy religion.”

The *Catholic Review*, referring to the action of the Republican Convention at Cincinnati, says :

“The Republican party goes out of its way to *insult* the Catholics.”

The (R. C.) *Freeman's Journal*, of June 24th, says:

"The plank (relating to the schools) in the Republican platform, is a *gratuitous insult*."

On the first day of the late St. Louis Convention, a Methodist clergyman was invited to officiate as chaplain. The Boston *Pilot*, the organ of the New England Roman Catholics, coarsely ridicules the prayer of the clergyman, but heartily endorses and supports the nomination of TILDEN and HENDRICKS.

A New York *Herald* correspondent, writing from New Lebanon, Columbia County, New York, under date of August 17, 1876, has this paragraph:

"Father JOHN JOSEPH BRENNAN, who is the principal Roman Catholic clergyman in this latitude, is a strong advocate for Governor TILDEN. He assured your correspondent *that all his people would vote for TILDEN, without exception*. At a late exhibition in New Lebanon, gotten up for the benefit of a Roman Catholic Seminary, Father BRENNAN made an address, in which he spoke kindly of Governor TILDEN."

From the *Freeman's Journal* of September 11, 1875:

"The Black Republican party in most regions of the country, have, by the intolerance of their conduct, forced Catholics, in disregard of other considerations, to take part with whatever Democratic, Liberal, or *hybrid* party has opposed the Republicans."

The same paper, in speaking of the Ohio Democratic nomination of ALLEN in opposition to HAYES, says:

"The Democratic State Convention of Ohio wisely and well avoided making any such (sectarian) issue, directly or indirectly. It contented itself with a political platitude about religious and civil liberty for everybody, and no favors to be shown to one religious belief rather than to another. The Convention, we think, did well. In honorable contrast to the Methodistico-Calvinistico-Beecheristico-Free-Love-Radical-Republican Convention, it hurled no insults at Catholics; but contented itself with the *reaffirmation* of what are, most undeniably, the *traditional* tenets of the best and most honorable political schools of the past of the United States—the principles of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson; and, since then, especially of the Democratic Party!"—Aug. 21, 1875.

When the New York Democratic party nominated FRANCIS KERNAN for Governor, it was done because he was, as the *Tribune* said the next day, "a *severe* and *earnest* Roman Catholic."

During the campaign, HORATIO SEYMOUR made a speech at Oneida, N. Y., which was reported for and published in the *Utica Observer*. From it we quote the following paragraph:



"In looking over the history of my State, I find that we have never had a Catholic Governor, though Catholics constitute about one-third of the population and a very large share of the voters. One thing I cannot bear to have said. They have been voting for Protestants for nearly a hundred years, and I cannot bear to have it said that Protestants are more bigoted than Catholics, and cannot vote once for a Catholic in return. [Great applause.] Every public man in the State has asked Catholics for their votes. I ask them if they *cannot reciprocate the favor* by voting for an honest Roman Catholic?"

In this contest, MR. KERNAN and the Democracy were badly beaten, the Catholics not being quite strong enough; but now, they believe, they have a controlling power, and they intend to exert it. Here is what the *Catholic Review* says on that subject:

"Our country contains a large number of Catholics. They increase year by year, and it seems to be merely a question of time, and that not very remote, when their numbers will preponderate over all religious faiths. \* \* \*

"We make this assertion, that at any moment the Catholics of the United States move as a body, they can decide any election. We know that they cannot, nor do they desire to form a distinct political party, but they can make any such party triumphant, or insure its defeat."

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### THE ROMAN CATHOLICS CONTROLLING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN OHIO.

A Mr. GHEGAN, an Irish Roman Catholic, was a member of the Ohio Legislature in 1874, and was the author of a Bill giving the Catholic clergy certain privileges in the penal institutions of the State. There was a strong opposition to the passage of the Bill, and fearing that it would be defeated, the organ of the friends of the Bill published the following:

"The political party with which nine-tenths of the Catholics affiliate on account of past services that they will never forget, now controls the State. Withdraw the support which Catholics have given to it, and it will fail in this City, and County, and State, as speedily as it has risen to its long-lost position and power. Mr. GHEGAN'S Bill will test the sincerity of its professions."

That threat was effectual. The Bill was passed, and then the same Roman Catholic organ said:

"The unbroken solid vote of the Catholic citizens of Ohio will be given to the Democrats at the Fall elections."

They were so given, but RUTHERFORD B. HAYES was elected notwithstanding.

## ARCHBISHOP PURCELL'S ADDRESS.

Immediately after the passage of the school amendment to the constitution, by the almost unanimous vote of the House of Representatives, Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati, issued an address to the people of the United States, the evident purpose of which was to create the impression that the Catholics were not opposed to the public schools, and that the school question should be withdrawn from political discussion.

It was clearly the opinion of the Archbishop that his "Declaration" would be sufficient to arrest the further agitation of the subject, but it is now apparent that he spoke only for himself.

This reply to the Archbishop's extraordinary "Declaration" was given by the *Freeman's Journal*, (August 26th), the leading Roman Catholic paper of New York. Doubtless it speaks the sentiments of the Roman Catholic party of the entire country. Here it is:

"The Archbishop of Cincinnati, in his letter lately published, makes known nothing more than *his own* views and sentiments. It was a perfectly good retort of a Black-Republican in one of the houses of Congress, that 'Archbishop Purcell is not the Pope.' The Senator might have gone farther, and said that Archbishop Purcell's letter represented nothing, except the personal notions, on the day he uttered them, of this good and zealous old missionary archbishop. This letter does not represent his notions, as set forth in his organ, less than two years ago. \* \* \*

"Archbishop Purcell's letter is the mere expression of the opinion of an excellent old ecclesiastic, who has already passed the age of active and effective judgment on the merits of questions as they rise. His expression of his views binds no bishop, and no priest. He is one of about a dozen archbishops, and of some fifty or more bishops, of the United States. These have not been gathered in any Canonical Council, and, if they had been, their doings would need the approval of the Vicar of Christ, to make them binding on the faithful. But, outside of all regular order, the *personal opinion* of the venerable Archbishop Purcell, as to what the Catholic Church and its hierarchy will do, or "waive" doing, is that of an aged, respectable, respected, but utterly inopportune, gentleman.

"The manner in which the well-intended letter of the aged archbishop has been attacked, makes it a kindness to excuse it. It cannot be defended."

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## THE COERCIVE POLICY.

Hitherto, the success of parties was simply the triumph of a civil policy, without any religious significance whatever. Political parties were combinations of citizens of all churches and every faith, banded together to con-

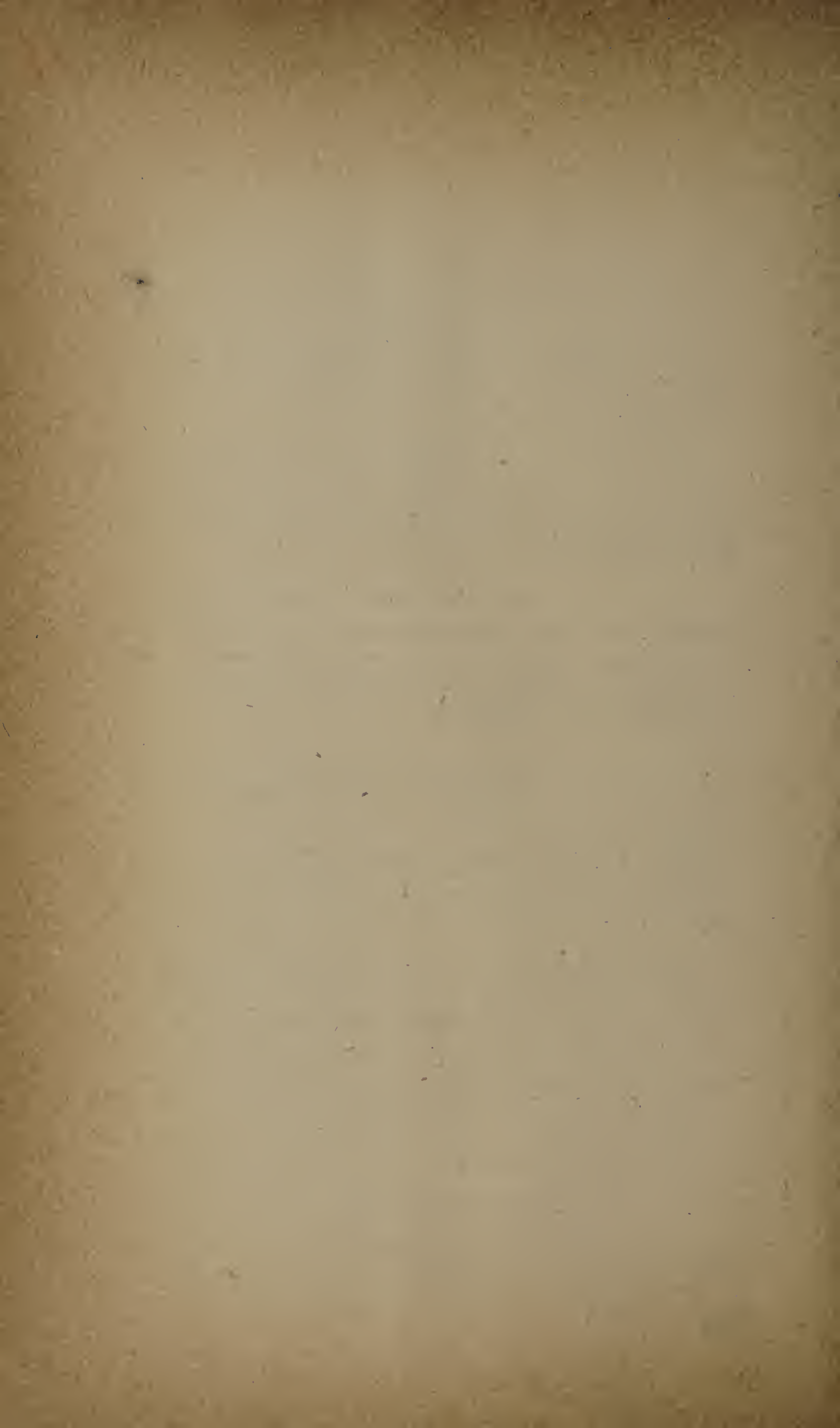
trol the Government, not in the interest of church and creed, but for the good of the whole people. Nominations were not based upon the religious opinions of the candidate, but upon the general fitness of the man to fill the office. The test of fitness was not his devotion to the Catholic, or the Presbyterian, or the Methodist church, but his fidelity as a man and his loyalty as a citizen. To this liberal spirit, growing out of the complete separation of Church and State, we are indebted for that peace and prosperity which have been enjoyed by each religious denomination and every citizen in the land.

Our Catholic clergy have a perfect right to labor and vote for the Democratic party, but they have no right to use the discipline of their church to force those who believe in their faith, but not in their politics, to unite with them at the ballot-box.

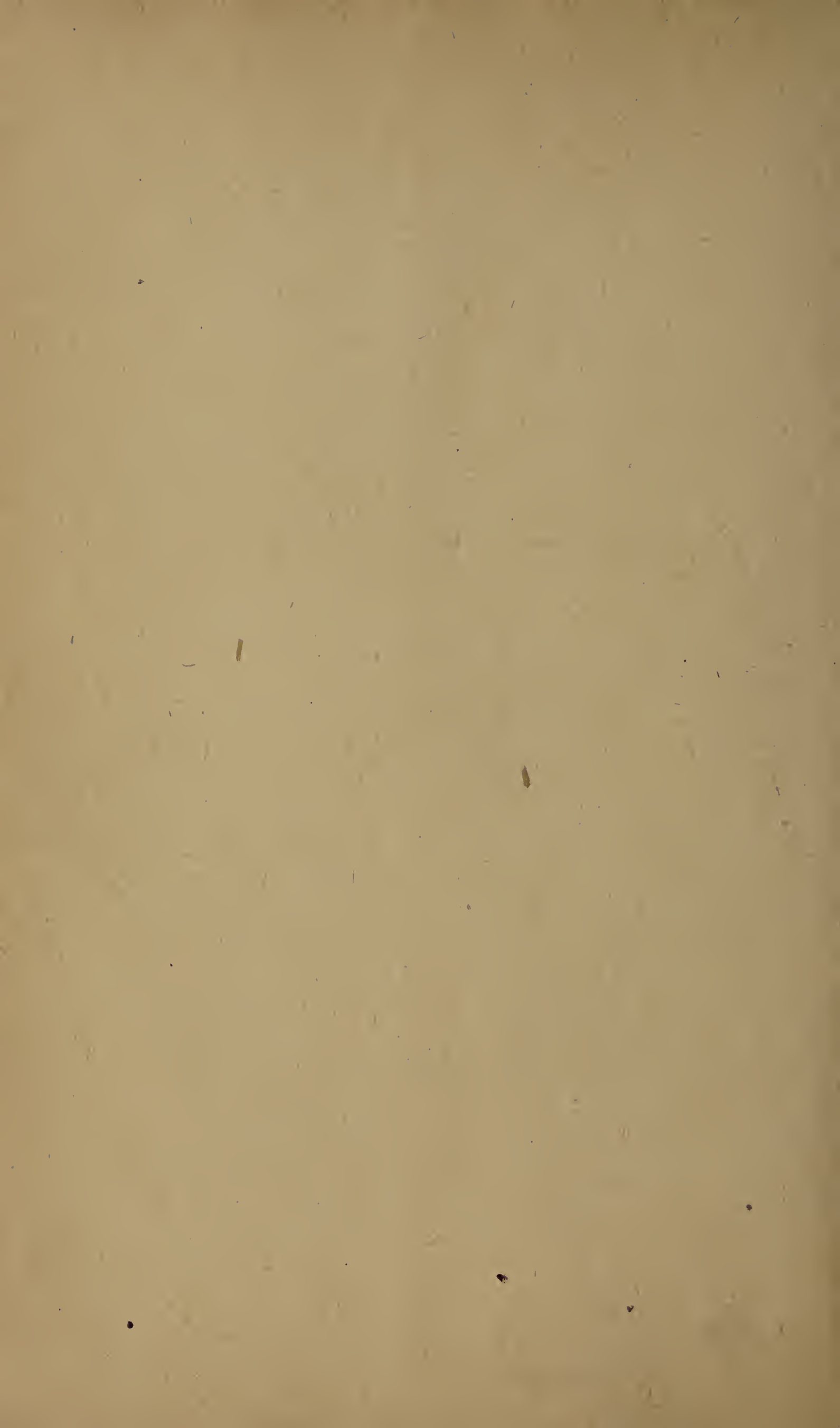
Yet the coercive policy is the one now adopted. The discipline of the Church is to be brought to bear upon its followers, and the Romish Church, inspired by Jesuitical teachings, is to make common cause with Democracy in its endeavor to overthrow the Republican party, and with it the free school system which it sustains.

The legislation of Ohio and New York, especially their city legislation, affords strong proof of the design of the Papal hierarchy to use the Democratic party as the political lever to overthrow the free school system of the land. This accomplished, the door is open for the control of other institutions in the future, and, through a national triumph of the party to which the church is allied, to a radical change of our form of Government.

These possibilities should arouse intelligent citizens of all creeds, whether of native or foreign birth, to the danger that threatens our country if the Roman Catholic element, through the success of Democracy, should obtain control of our national affairs. If knowledge of what has been done in Germany through priestism will awaken our people to the designs of the same power in the United States, the firm stand of Bismarck was not taken an hour too soon. That it may attract the attention of every American citizen, and cause him to labor with greater fidelity for the party that is pledged to the maintenance of civil and religious liberty, the support of the free schools, and the perfect equality of all men before the law, is the prayer of millions in Europe and America, who look upon our free government as the young giant that is yet to break the fetters of the world's oppressed.







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